

The AMERICAN OBSERVER

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. —James Monroe

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FEBRUARY 1, 1933

American Policy in Orient Raises Issue

Stimson Declares Again That Gains Made by Treaty Violations Shall Be Held Illegal

ROOSEVELT UPHOLDS DOCTRINE

Will Mark Drastic Change in Our Foreign Policy if it Remains in Force

The reopening of major hostilities between the Japanese and Chinese armies in the region of Jehol province (see AMERICAN OBSERVER, January 18) has been the cause of grave concern in two of the important world capitals—Geneva and Washington. Since the new clash, as throughout the entire dispute, the American government and the League of Nations have been the two agencies most actively engaged in trying to settle this, perhaps the most difficult and complicated of present international problems. During the last sixteen months Washington and Geneva have at times worked hand in hand and presented a united front to the belligerent nations of the Orient. Again, the United States has acted independently of the League. Whichever course has been followed, the opposition of outside nations to the conflict in Manchuria has been unavailing in solving the problem and the Japanese appear unyielding in spite of the opposition.

Stimson Doctrine

The significant developments of the last month have been a restatement of the American attitude and renewed activity at Geneva. Almost a year after he had sent his history-making note to China and Japan outlining the American policy of non-recognition, Secretary of State Stimson declared that this government had not changed its position and that we would adhere firmly to the stand taken a year ago. Again we have served notice on Japan and China that whatever they may do in Manchuria, including Jehol, we will not recognize the legality of any changes they might bring about through the violation of treaties. We have informed Japan very definitely that we do not intend to recognize the government of Manchukuo because, in our opinion, it was brought into being in direct violation of two treaties, the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine Power Treaty.

At the same time Mr. Stimson was making known his views to the world, word came from New York that the president-elect was wholeheartedly in favor of the non-recognition policy, which has come to be known as the "Hoover Doctrine" or the "Stimson Policy." This is more important than the secretary's statement itself, for whatever the Hoover administration might do about the Far East dispute, however strongly it might oppose recognizing the validity of Manchukuo—all its words and actions would be but idle gestures without the support of Mr. Roosevelt. In a little more than a month, he will have charge of our foreign relations, will be shaping our foreign policies. But now that he has endorsed the Hoover doctrine of non-recognition, the world knows that the United States will not retrace its steps after March 4 and will seek to settle the Sino-Japanese conflict by

(Concluded in page 8)



BY-PRODUCT

Happy are the people who learn to achieve their objectives without setting up processes so harmful as to overbalance the gains.

If You Want Roast Pig

As the depression holds on we hear with increasing frequency the suggestion that a war might not be such a bad thing after all. Might it not prove a road to recovery? It would put millions of men to work, it is said, and, if it ran true to form, it would start prices upon an upward bound. Were not the war years times of universal employment, of high prices, of increasing production, of prosperity? Then why should we consider another war an unmitigated calamity? All of which reminds one of Charles Lamb's delightful story of the origin of roast pig. Its edibility, he tells us, was discovered by the Chinese quite by accident. A house which served as shelter for a drove of pigs as well as for the human occupants burned down, and some of the pigs were entrapped. When the flames had done their work, a member of the family approached the slightly charred body of a pig, touched it, burned his hand, then licked his injured fingers, with particles of browned flesh clinging to them. To his surprise, the taste was pleasant, and he proceeded to repeat the act. He notified his friends, who feasted upon the newly discovered delicacy. Thereafter, when appetites called for roast pig, these simple Chinese folk drove their swine into a house and burned it down. After a time an original and progressive leader among them hit upon an idea which should command respect even in our own day. It occurred to him that the pigs might be roasted without burning the houses, and so the cumbersome and costly expedient of house-burning was given up and the people pursued their object by more direct means. Those who look with favor upon war as a means of raising prices and putting people to work have much to learn from this bit of Chinese experience. We have, indeed, stumbled into war from time to time. And we discover that, in the course of its prosecution, the government borrows money, employs men by the millions, spends the money it has borrowed, raises prices. What many do not see is that it could do all this without going to war—without burning the structures of civilized life. If we wanted to put people to work to avoid suffering as much as we want to put them to work to kill enemies, we could do it without war. The government could borrow money, and by the way, there would be a better chance of its paying the debt if the borrowing were done in peace rather than war. It could put men in uniform if it chose, and set them to clearing slums or building parks or setting out forests. And this would raise prices. Risks would be involved, for the process would be one of inflation, but such it is in time of war. If you want roast pig you can have it without burning your house down. And if you want inflation by governmental activity you can have it without setting in motion forces which are likely to destroy your most cherished possessions.

Congress Overrides Philippine Bill Veto

Passes Measure to Grant Complete Freedom to Islands After Ten-Year Trial Period

NUMEROUS OBJECTIONS RAISED

Effort Will Be Made to Defeat Act When Presented for Approval in Manila

The United States government has taken a course quite unusual among nations. It has offered to grant independence to a section of territory which it holds. It has offered independence to the Philippine Islands. The offer, however, is accompanied by terms which are unsatisfactory to many of the Filipinos. Hence their acceptance is in doubt.

The islands became the property of the United States thirty-five years ago. The United States had fought a short, victorious war against Spain. The Philippines were possessions of Spain in far-away Asiatic waters. They had not been taken into account by many Americans when the war began, but in the course of the fighting they were captured by a squadron of the American navy, under Admiral Dewey. When the war was over, they wanted their independence and fought for it, but they were defeated by the superior power of the United States government, and the American flag has continued to fly over this Pacific archipelago for more than a third of a century. During all this time influential bodies of Filipino opinion have called for independence. Heretofore it has been refused. Why the change of policy on the part of the United States?

Motives

Economic motives play a part now, as they did in 1898. At that time there was a desire in the United States for an expansion of foreign trade. There was a longing for markets across the seas and it was thought that the acquisition of the Philippines would supply these markets. It was thought, too, that the possession of the islands would give us a naval base in the Far East which would extend our influence in that quarter and would help us in our policies of promoting American trade throughout the Orient.

There are interests in the United States which have profited by American possession of the Philippine Islands, and they have at all times opposed the hauling down of the American flag, but there are other interests in this country which consider themselves to be injured by the American possession of the islands.

Bill's Provisions

Before discussing the controversial issues involved in this measure we shall briefly give the provisions of the bill and the path which it must follow to become effective. In the next two years and four months the bill must take this course: It must be ratified by the Philippine legislature. If approved by the legislature, a convention must be called to draw up a constitution for the islands. The constitution must be democratic in form, must contain a bill of rights and certain provisions for American control of the islands, pending final independence. If the president of the United States approves the constitution

it is then to be submitted to the people of the islands. If they approve it, their approval will be considered as meaning they accept independence; if they disapprove it, their disapproval will be construed as meaning they do not want independence under the terms of the bill.

If the bill passes these stages the Filipinos will begin a ten-year trial period during which time they will have virtually full control over their government. At the beginning of the trial period, Philippine emigration to the United States will be curtailed to fifty persons each year. Their trade with this country will be slightly restricted from the very start, and at the end of five years, tariffs will be imposed against their exports to this country. These tariffs will be raised gradually until at the end of the ten-year period. Philippine goods entering the United States will be taxed at the same rate as imported commodities from foreign countries.

During this same period we are allowed to ship our products into the islands duty free. And after the ten-year period is over and the islands become an independent nation we are still to be allowed to retain certain military and naval bases. To protect the islands against foreign aggression, the bill requests the president of the United States to seek a treaty with foreign powers "for the perpetual neutralization of the Philippine Islands." These are the main provisions of the bill.

Conflicting Opinion

Immediately after the American occupation, the Philippines became an important issue in American politics. One faction declared that we had no right by force to hoist the American flag above the territory of the Filipinos. Others said it was our duty to do so, for unless we did, the islands, weak and disunited as they were, would become the prey of foreign aggression. William Jennings Bryan represented the first viewpoint and he denounced his opponents as imperialists, unworthy of the name of democracy. But President McKinley thought otherwise: "The islands," he said, "are ours, not to exploit but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government."

In 1901, William Howard Taft was appointed governor-general of the islands. Under his sympathetic leadership, Philippine opposition to our action became less violent, but nevertheless the burning desire for independence was not lessened. In 1905 the Nacionalista party was organized. Its platform called for "the obtaining of the immediate independence of the Philippines in order to organize the country into a free sovereignty under a demo-

cratic government. . . ." Thereafter no political candidate could expect to be elected to office without endorsing the independence movement.

It was not until 1916 that the United States took its first big step toward placating the islanders. In that year the Jones act was passed by Congress, creating a Philippine legislature composed of an upper and lower house and investing more governmental control in the islanders than they ever had before. Moreover, President Wilson appointed Francis B. Harrison, who was extremely sympathetic with the Filipinos, governor-general of the islands. Mr. Harrison immediately dismissed a great many American civil service workers and replaced them with Filipinos.

But even these measures did not entirely satisfy the islanders, at least not for long. Three years later they sent a mission of forty members to the United States to appeal to Congress for their independence. And since then, missions have been sent nearly every year for the same purpose.

Change in Sentiment

Until a few years ago, those Americans in favor of freeing the Filipinos were decidedly in the minority. It was argued that the islanders were not yet ready to govern themselves. But a new angle to the question has developed. Agricultural, sugar and labor organizations in this country have come to the conclusion that it would greatly benefit them if the islands were given their freedom. Therefore, these interests, not from any altruistic motives, but merely because they feel it is to their economic advantage to eliminate competition with Philippine trade and labor, have worked ardently and apparently successfully to give the islanders what they have so long wanted—freedom. Of course, this does not mean that there are not thousands of people in the United States who have nothing to gain and who earnestly believe that the Filipinos should be given the opportunity to run their own affairs. As a matter of fact, the trend has definitely reversed and, according to most indications, the majority of Americans are now in favor of giving the islanders their independence in ten or fifteen years. But the real issue now is: On what terms should the two peoples part?

Those opposed to the Hawes-Cutting bill say that it was dictated by selfish interests and therefore does not give a fair deal to the Filipinos. Here is what the bill's critics say: The islanders have been obliged to construct their entire economic life upon a free market for their goods in the United States. In 1913, the Underwood Tariff act extended complete free trade to the Philippines. A number of

leading Filipinos objected to the bill on the ground that it would create such close economic ties between the two countries that it would be difficult for the islanders ever to obtain their freedom, or if they did win their independence they would be left in a hazardous position.

And this is exactly what has happened. We buy approximately 75 per cent of all Philippine exports. Sugar, hemp and coconut oil are the chief products shipped to this country from the islands. If the provisions of the Hawes-Cutting bill are put into operation, a tax will be imposed upon Philippine products in about seven years, and in twelve years these products will be practically barred, assuming that our present tariff rates are continued. The Filipinos need a longer time, it is said, to readjust their economic life and to seek new markets for their products.

It is the realization of the shock which independence under this bill would produce upon the economic life of the islands that has sobered many Filipino leaders. They are still just as anxious and determined to gain their independence, but they hesitate to sacrifice their future in this effort. There is a growing movement among the members of the Philippine legislature to turn down this bill in the hope that the new American Congress will pass one more favorable to the islands.

Other Criticisms

Another feature of the bill which has been subjected to bitter criticism is that which allows the United States to retain military and naval bases in the islands after independence has been granted. At the same time the bill requests the president of the United States to ask all other countries to sign a neutralization treaty as a means of protecting the Philippines against foreign aggression. Those opposed to this feature contend that, should other nations seek to establish military bases in the islands, the United States would be unwilling to sign a neutralization treaty and that, therefore, foreign nations will be equally unwilling to do so because of the special privileges granted to this country.

And there are still many persons who do not believe the Filipinos are sufficiently advanced politically to govern themselves. But these people are greatly in the minority. Most authorities are of the opinion that from an educational standpoint the islanders are better equipped than many of the smaller independent nations. There are 8,000 schools in the islands, and while the rate of illiteracy is still high it has decreased rapidly in recent years. It is lower than that of Siam, Bulgaria, Greece, Chili and most Central American republics. In governmental affairs the Filipinos already have practically complete control except for a few of the more important executive positions. Out of 20,100 employees in the Philippine Civil Service, there are only 494 Americans and they are mostly school teachers.

In Defense

Senator Borah, who at the last minute switched from a position supporting Hoover's veto to opposition to it, made this

statement which represents the majority views: "There never will be an ideal time to grant independence to the Philippines. If we are waiting for complete peace in the Orient to grant them freedom they will never get it. Neither will we ever have an ideal bill. There will always be conditions that make for divergence of views. The conflict of views always will force a compromise." The Des Moines Register has this to say about the bill: "On the side of ethical rights, passing the Philippine independence bill over the veto is easily defensible. We have promised independence; the Philippines are as much entitled to desire and demand it as any other people; for us to grant it is merely to keep our word. On the side of economic advantage, the gains will be mostly to us and the losses to the Filipinos, as the act now stands."

SIXTEEN TO ONE

The latest development in the Huey Long filibuster against the Glass Banking bill is the reopening of the 16 to 1 silver issue on which William Jennings Bryan campaigned in 1896.

The filibuster was supposed to be broken by the Senate unanimous consent vote which limited debate by each senator to one hour on the bill and a half-hour on each amendment. But a long series of amendments have been submitted, and the filibustering senators—Long, Thomas and Wheeler—are debating every amendment, thus really continuing the filibuster and preventing a vote on a bill which had the backing of a majority of the Senate. "Kingfish" Long himself introduced a rider to the Glass bill which would authorize the federal government to purchase silver bullion and stabilize the price of silver at 14.38 to 1 in relation to gold. Wheeler then submitted an amendment for the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. The question of bimetallism, or the use of silver as well as gold as a basis of American currency, is a kind of political specter that has arisen in times of depression during the last hundred years of American history. Dozens of bills have been introduced in Congress on the subject, but not in forty years has one come to a vote.



MAP OF THE PHILIPPINES

—From N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE



DURING THE LAST THIRTY YEARS THE PHILIPPINES HAVE MADE NOTABLE PROGRESS
Above is an illustration of intensive rice cultivation on the slopes of mountains.

Poverty and Political Unrest Characterize Austria

Nation Has Undergone Vast Changes Since Gay Years Before the World War

The glamour of pre-war Vienna, once one of Europe's gayest capitals and an art center of the world, is dimmed. The native charm of the Austrian people remains, but it is cloaked in poverty and hampered by political unrest. A socialist city of workers, a "red Vienna," has replaced the imperial city of Franz Josef.

The great grey city on the Danube still has its Hapsburg palaces, once the pride of an arrogant empire, and its Chateau of Schönbrunn, where Napoleon won his royal bride. But the sights of the city today are the thousands of model municipal apartment houses, athletic clubs, gardens, libraries, playgrounds, swimming pools built by the new Socialist Republic for the factory workers and other laboring classes of the city. Built on modernistic lines, with largely borrowed money, the 64,000 new workers' apartment houses have made a different city of old Vienna. The biggest one, the \$4,000,000 "Karl Marx Hof," three-fifths of a mile long, with 1,382 apartments, vies with the \$1,000,000 municipal stadium as a show place for the traveler.

The streets are less colorful than they once were, and the bright Viennese sun shines on shabbiness only half concealed by the gallant spirit of a still happy-natured people. The once brilliantly dressed ladies and gentlemen of the court now go dressed in somber black, and the quiet figures of elderly ladies in plain black tailor-made suits go everywhere on foot where they once drove behind uniformed coachmen to court functions or gay social gatherings. Lilted Viennese waltzes are still heard from the orchestras of little open-air cafés, where foaming beer is served on bright red-checked tablecloths. But throughout the city there is a somber undertone of uncertainty, discouragement, and poverty.

Even the bewhiskered hotel porter or the bright-cheeked maid who serves your breakfast will talk of the days when the city once was gayer and people had money to spend. The country has not yet recovered from the crash in money and property values that came with the defeat of the central powers after the World War. Everyone's income was reduced to nothing then by the inflation of the currency, which made Austrian money hardly worth the paper it was printed on, and even with the help of three loans to the new republic from the League of Nations and the Bank of International Settlements, business is far from back to normal.

Vienna is almost a city without a country, for the area of Austria was so cut down by the Versailles Treaty that one-third of the population of the country now lives

inside the city limits of the capital. It is almost in the position that Minneapolis would be without the great wheat farms of the West. Many businesses are at a standstill because the mines and other sources of raw materials are no longer Austrian, or because the new Danubian countries made from slices of the old Empire have put up tariff barriers against Austrian manufactured goods. There is still an active business being done in the dainty leather goods and other tourist novelties that have always made Vienna famous, and along the main thoroughfares, instead of the big department stores that we have in America, many little specialty shops do a busy trade, each in its own particular line of goods.

The feeling of political uncertainty, however, pervades every part of the city's life. There is constant and bitter opposition between the two great political parties, the conservative or more old-fashioned Catholics, and the radical Social-Democrats, now in control in "red Vienna." Even a casual traveler can never forget this bitter political rivalry, for fist fights between members of different parties often break out in cafés or in the street. And at any time of day one is apt to see marching groups of gray uniformed Heimwehr troops, the voluntary military organization of the Heimabund. These are the Fascists or Hitlerites of Austria, who would like to oust the other political parties from power and launch a new "pan-German" movement for union with Germany. They keep the whole country stirred up, so that the Austrian people, although they have more voting rights under the new socialist republic and its president, Dr. Wilhelm Miklas, they have not yet any feeling of real security or stability in the government.

Out in the country, outside the city of Vienna, it is different. There the modern political unrest is not so noticeable, and the real heart of old Austria still lives. The pleasant farming districts are much as they always were, with rolling fields of rye, oats or barley, where kerchiefed women work beside their men.

Many of the mountain villages of the high Alps in the Tyrol are now Italian, but parts of the rugged Dolomite range still belong to the new Austrian Republic. There, city folk and mountaineers love to meet, for rock climbing above the clouds, or the skiing and other sports that are a typical part of Austrian life, whether under emperor or republic. The light-haired, blue-eyed, smiling village people of the Austrian mountains and farms, in their soft Tyrolean hats, freshly starched blouses and brightly embroidered vests, make the most vivid picture that the traveler carries



VIENNA—MODERN HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE POST-WAR YEARS

away with him from Austria, and provide perhaps the real keynote to the national character.

FAR EAST

A further outbreak of hostilities between Japan and China in North China seems inevitable as the situation becomes increasingly critical. There appears to be no basis on which to pursue negotiations looking toward conciliation, and the League of Nations has practically admitted failure in its efforts to patch up the difference.

In a statement to the House of Peers in Tokyo, January 21, Count Yasuya Uchida, Japanese foreign minister, made a declaration of foreign policy in which he warned China of "unfortunate eventualities" if she continued to prepare for the defense of Jehol province, which, he said, must be considered an integral part of the new state of Manchukuo. The count said that the League of Nations must permit a "certain elasticity" to apply to the League Covenant with regard to the question of Manchuria. The problem cannot be considered in the same light that a European one would, he declared.

There was a strong reaction in China to this speech. There is evidence that a definite war fever is sweeping over the country, and the Chinese people are being called upon by leaders to make every sacrifice in order that funds may be made available for the nation's defense. The following conclusions, drawn from Count Uchida's speech by a Chinese newspaper, are representative of the prevailing sentiment:

First, that Japan is determined to invade China proper; second, that Japan is determined to occupy Jehol under all circumstances; third, that the League of Nations influence in Japan amounts to nothing; fourth, that if Japan occupies Jehol, then all Northern China is threatened; fifth, that all efforts at a Sino-Japanese peace apparently have been exhausted and that the only course remaining open to the Chinese, if they are not to be conquered, is to rise and defend their country with their blood.

Meanwhile the special Committee of Nineteen of the League of Nations, after unsuccessful efforts to form a commission of conciliation, set to work to draft a report in accordance with Article XV of the Covenant, called for such procedure after attempts at conciliation have failed. A subcommittee composed of nine nations will write the report.

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Speaking of movies, a critic says they should be "lessons in optimism." And a lot of them are. Their producers were optimists.

—Philadelphia INQUIRER

At the opening of the Civil War an Iowa man was rejected by the examination board as too frail for military service. As he celebrated his one hundred and second birthday anniversary in California recently he had almost reached the conclusion that the board had been mistaken.

—Pasadena POST

I have often thought it would be a blessing if each human being were stricken blind and deaf for a few days.

—Helen Keller

The marines, back home after 19 years in Nicaragua, may be wondering just what country this is they've got into.

—St. Louis POST-DISPATCH

People who feel the need of a dictator always envision him as dictating to somebody else.

—Detroit FREE PRESS

The Wets are still clamoring for the workingman to get his beer back. Now it looks as if beer will come back but it may be years before the workingman will.

—JUDGE

Calm down you Technocrats! After all, there hasn't been a machine or a gadget invented yet that will gedunk our toast in the coffee without splattering it on our necktie.

—Chicago TRIBUNE

With the discontent of today, anything might happen, provided a leader was at hand and ready to push his fortunes to the limit.

—Col. E. M. House

The latest thing to be patented is a bullet-proof shirt that will stop a revolver shot at five paces. The final test, however, will come when it is sent to the laundry.

—JUDGE

Vandals who poured sirup over the floor of a local business house evidently were trying a new kind of stick-up.

—Indianapolis STAR

In any family discussion, the share-the-work movement is enthusiastically endorsed by mother.

—Oil City DERRICK

"He who takes himself with great seriousness all his life," said Hi Ho, the sage of Chinatown, "must be one of two things; a hero or a hypocrite."

—Washington STAR

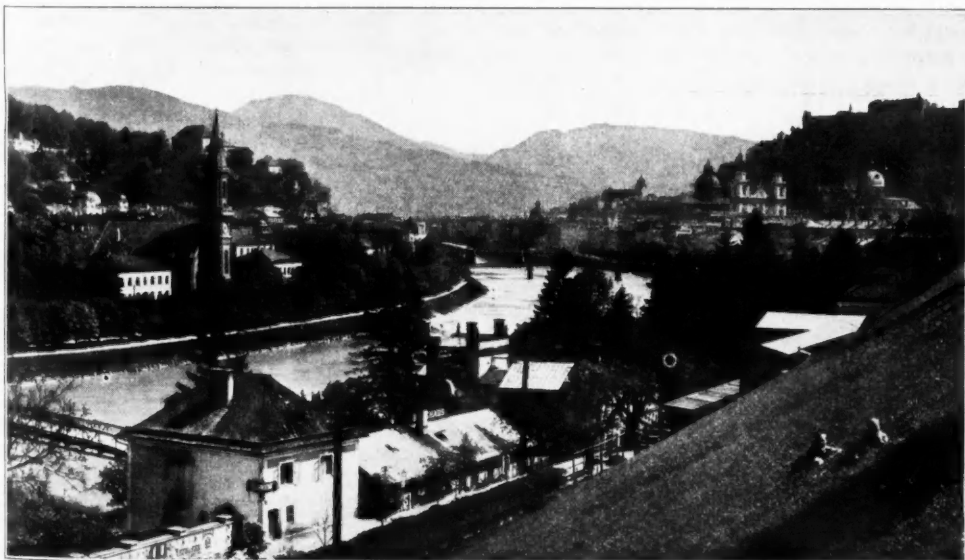
Maybe it will be better to have sales taxes than tax sales.

—New York HERALD-TRIBUNE

The Senate pulls down the flag from the Philippines, but refuses to haul down the black flag of that jolly old pirate, Capt. Filibuster.

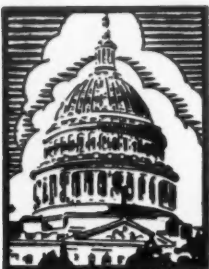
—Washington POST

PRONUNCIATIONS: Seignobos (see'nyo-bo-o as in go), Hymans (ee'mahns-n is scarcely sounded), Paderewski (pah-de-rev'skee-e as in met), Fianna Fail (fee-an'a—first a as in sat, second a as in final, fo'el-o as in or), Dail Eireann (do-eel-o as in or, air'an) Sarajevo (sah-rah-ya'vo—a in ya pronounced as in say, o as in go).



SALZBURG—A PICTURESQUE VIEW OF THE ROMANTIC AUSTRIAN CITY

The AMERICAN OBSERVER



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NO. 20

The Story of the Week

THE following is the text of the twentieth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, changing the date of the meeting of Congress and of the inauguration of the president and providing for the succession to the presidency in case of the death of the president-elect:

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

ABOUT ten days ago a number of economists representing different nations of the world, who had been conferring together at Geneva, gave out an important public statement. These economists were

members of a committee whose work it was to outline a program for the World Economic Conference which is to meet sometime this spring or summer in London. It was this preliminary program, or agenda, which the economists made public on the completion of their labors. They said that the conference should consider (1) monetary credit policy (2) prices (3) resumption of the movement of capital (4) restrictions on international trade (5) tariff and treaty policy and (6) organization of production and trade. But they did not stop with the publication of this preliminary program. They made a statement explaining the conditions which render a world conference so essential, and here are some of the things which they said:

At this time 30,000,000 people are unemployed. Wholesale prices are a third lower than they were in 1929. Wheat is lower than it has been for four centuries. Production has everywhere declined. The United States steel industry, for example, is operating at only 10 per cent of its capacity. The total value of world trade stands at a third of what it was in 1929. The volume of world trade has fallen off at least a fourth. The incomes of many countries have fallen by 40 per cent. Only a few countries now maintain an uncontrolled gold standard.

This condition does not result from causes beyond human control, in the opinion of the commission of economic experts who gave out their report from Geneva. The nations are making economic war on each other and are rendering conditions very much worse. They have erected tariff walls which keep out the goods of other countries. They are shutting out foreign goods even more effectively by import quotas expressly prohibiting foreign goods above certain amounts. By manipulation of exchange they are making it impossible for people in one country to buy goods of another. Thus the peoples of the world are losing the advantages which come from trade among nations. The results are already very serious and they threaten to become even more dangerous, for there have grown up in every country many industries which can be maintained only if the products can be shipped across national lines and sold to foreigners. That is why there is need of a world conference. "In its essence the necessary program is one of economic disarmament," says the committee. "In the movement toward economic reconciliation an armistice was signed at Lausanne; the London conference must draw the treaty of peace. Failure in this critical undertaking threatens the world wide adoption of ideals of national self-sufficiency which cut unmistakably athwart the lines of economic development." The committee continues with this solemn warning:

Such a choice would shake the whole system of international finance to its foundations; the standards of living would be lowered and the social system, as we know it, could hardly survive. These developments, if they occur, will be the result not of any inevitable natural law, but of the failure

of human will and intelligence to devise the necessary guaranties of political, economic and international order. The responsibility of the governments is clear and unmistakable.

IN order that the world economic conference may have a chance to succeed, something must be done toward the settling of the international debt problem, and a step looking in that direction has now been taken. President-elect Roosevelt came to Washington on January 19. He conferred about the debts and other issues of international policy with Secretary of State Stimson. He went to the White House the next day taking with him Professor Raymond Moley of Columbia and Norman Davis, and talked with President Hoover. After this White House conference it was announced that Great Britain had asked for a revision of her debt to this country, and that the British would be invited to send representatives to Washington to discuss the subject. The British debt commission can now be appointed and it can come to Washington so as to be on hand immediately after Mr. Roosevelt becomes president on March 4. The new administration can then take up negotiations with Great Britain without any loss of time.

This significant paragraph was included in the White House announcement: "It is, of course, necessary to discuss at the same time the world economic problems in which the United States and Great Britain are mutually interested, and therefore that representatives should be sent to discuss ways and means for improving the world situation." It thus appears that the American and British governments are to discuss together the economic problems which stand in the way of world recovery.

IT seems that the long-standing controversial question of what to do about Muscle Shoals, the gigantic power development on the Tennessee River, which has remained practically idle since the war, will be settled early in Mr. Roosevelt's administration. The president-elect recently made a visit of inspection to the power project in company with Senator George W. Norris and others interested in the matter. Mr. Roosevelt gave virtual assurance that the government would undertake to operate the huge power and nitrate plant.

Constructed during the war at a cost of over \$150,000,000, Muscle Shoals has given rise to such a controversy that it has been impossible to agree on the manner in which it should be operated and, as a result, it has been practically useless. There were those who wished the government to lease it to private interests, and those who insisted that it should be operated only by the government. Two bills providing for government operation, both sponsored by Senator Norris, have passed Congress, only to be vetoed, one by President Coolidge, and one by President Hoover.

A SURVEY which has just been completed by the United States Office of Education reveals the fact that the American educational system has broken down in many places, that there are many communities which are not maintaining their schools, that 9,500,000 American children are not receiving proper schooling, and that as many more are in danger of being deprived of educational opportunities. The trouble is that the communities are poor and cannot afford to supply the needed school facilities.

What is the remedy? The commission does not ask that more money be spent for education than is now being spent, but it advocates a change in the plan by which the money is collected. It advises that each state should assume control of education within its borders, that the local school



"A TREATY IS A TREATY, MY FRIEND"
—Kirby in N. Y. WORLD-TELEGRAM

districts should not be obliged to collect the money for the maintaining of their schools, but that the state itself should collect the money and apportion it among the districts to the end that the people of every locality may have proper schools.

The question may be asked as to how the state as a whole could collect the money for all the schools if the individual districts cannot pay their share. The answer is that wealth is unevenly distributed. It is centered in certain localities—in the cities and the industrial regions. The people of a state, as a whole, could raise enough money to take care of its schools if they should adopt a just tax system. This means that the general property tax should be relied upon less than it has been. It means that the state should collect money from those best able to bear the taxes and should so distribute the money among all its communities that each may take care of its schools. The state would not need to deprive the communities of all control of their local schools, but it could establish certain minimum standards of efficiency in return for financial support.

HERE is the record of Congress during the third week of January:

Senate. The Philippine independence bill was passed over the president's veto. An effort to close the filibuster on the Glass banking bill by applying cloture (a resolution which, if adopted by a two-thirds vote, would have placed limits upon debate) failed, but after the failure to impose a limitation by resolution unanimous consent for a limitation was secured. Certain senators, unwilling to limit debate by act of the Senate, secured voluntary agreement to that end. Senator Thomas, however, practically continued the filibuster by speaking for one half hour on each amendment. Final action on the Glass bill was not taken. The Judiciary Committee reported the beer bill favorably. The arms embargo resolution was acted upon favorably, but later the Senate voted to reconsider it. The Domestic Allotment bill passed by the House was being redrafted in the Senate Agriculture Committee. A relief bill, sponsored by Senators Costigan and La Follette, was before the Manufacturers Committee.

House. The Hoover government economy bureau merger plan reorganizing fifty-eight government bodies, which would have gone into effect February 9 if no action by Congress had been taken, was rejected by the House. An appropriation bill providing funds for the State, Justice, Commerce and Labor Departments, was reported out of committee, and carries a total of \$183,282,000, or about 5 per cent reduction from the budget estimates. Plans for all general revenue legislation were put over to the special session of Congress by Democratic House leaders. A "Buy American" bill requiring government departments to use only domestic goods except in emergencies of ships in foreign ports, was passed.—W. E. M.



JUST GOING THROUGH THE MOTIONS

—Talbot in Washington News

WITH AUTHORS AND EDITORS

We read old books for their excellence, but new ones to share in the mental life of our time.—SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

Currency Inflation

In the January 25 issue, the *New Republic* performs a valuable service by discussing the problem of currency inflation in a very elementary way. It is becoming apparent that, as the depression continues, plans for raising prices by some form or forms of currency inflation are gaining headway. It is highly desirable, therefore, that each student of public affairs should inform himself as to the meaning and possible consequences of inflation. The *New Republic*, speaking editorially, asks and answers the following questions:

What is inflation of currency? What is its purpose? What is the difference between inflation of currency and inflation of credit? Why has inflation of credit not worked during the depression? How could inflated currency be put in circulation? Would governmental spending of inflated currency be dangerous? Can this danger be avoided? Is control of currency or credit a real preventive of the extremes of "prosperity" and depression? The answers to these questions involve matters of opinion as well as fact. They are editorial expressions. Here is the answer to the first of the questions, "What is inflation of currency?" the other answers are similarly clear and concise:

Any nation on the gold standard promises to redeem each unit of paper currency with an amount of gold fixed by law. In order to do this, the banks of issue or the treasury (if money is printed by the government itself) are compelled to retain fixed amounts of gold in reserve. If currency is printed which is not redeemable, or is redeemable by a smaller quantity of gold than has previously been the case, it is ordinarily called inflated currency.

Social Science Outlines

A very valuable set of outlines covering the subjects of American Government, Economics, Medieval History, Modern History, English History and English Literature, has been prepared by Longmans, Green and Company, New York. Outlines covering American History and other social science fields are in preparation. The price for each booklet (consisting of from 75 to 150 pages) is seventy-five cents, except in the case of the larger outline of American Government, which sells for one dollar.

These little books supply in outline form the important facts comprised within the subjects with which they deal. They are useful in several ways. In the first place, they organize the material admirably. One may, for example, take up the outline of Medieval History and by turning through the pages of the outline have at hand an organization of the period covered. All the important facts will be there in appropriate sequence. These books are also of great value to one who wishes to review a sub-

ject which he has already covered. As his eye follows the pages, facts will be recalled to his mind, and enough of fact is contained in the outline so that a good running picture of the course will be brought home to him. Then, too, the books are valuable from the standpoint of reference. One who is looking for facts rather than general discussions will find them here.

The book on American Government is particularly serviceable as a work of reference. Not only does it contain outlines covering political theory, the early governments in America, the development of the Constitution, the evolution of the Constitution, citizenship, parties, the various branches of the national, state and local governments, but it furnishes thirty-six charts, or diagrams, of which the one on the progress of a bill in Congress which we reproduce on this page is an illustration. The student of civics should find this outline of very great value, and the teacher will surely find it a timesaver. We commend this "Student Outline Series," or "S O S" as it is called in its abbreviated form, most heartily to teachers and students in the social science field.

Social Forces at Work

The assertion that one must read the story of the past in order to understand the present is commonplace. It goes almost without saying that history is a great laboratory in which we can study social forces at work. The historian is not theorizing about what might happen under certain conditions. He is discovering the facts as to how the forces have worked. In order, however, that history may serve this purpose of teaching us more about the influences which are at work in human life and human society, it must be comprehensive; it must be honest; it must be authentic; and it must be selective. Much that we study as history is irrelevant; it is unimportant; it makes no difference to us one way or the other. A fine illustration of historical fact so selected and prepared as to give a real insight into social, economic and political developments is furnished by "The Evolution of the French People," Charles Seignobos, professor of modern history at the University of Paris (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.25).

Professor Seignobos, an eminent historian, traces the origin and development of the people of France. He is not concerned primarily with political or military history, or with national leaders. He pictures the conditions of life and the institutions which prevail from period to period, and shows how one set of conditions is always merging into another. He traces causes and effects. For example, he takes care, after describing the French Revolu-

tion, to explain just what changes it wrought in the powers, the living conditions, and the general status of the different classes in French society. He shows how the bourgeoisie came to take the place of the old privileged classes, but with a difference:

The bourgeoisie had become a privileged class and made the peasants work for them as farmers on their land or servants in their houses, while the artisans worked for them in their industrial enterprises. They alone possessed sufficient means to give their sons an education securing them access to the higher offices, and to provide their daughters with the manners and dress which made them "ladies." But they were unaware of this privileged position, for it no longer had an obvious legal form, as the privileges of the *ancien régime* had done; it was based upon the hereditary rights of property, which were regarded at that time as a natural right, whose origin was not inquired into.

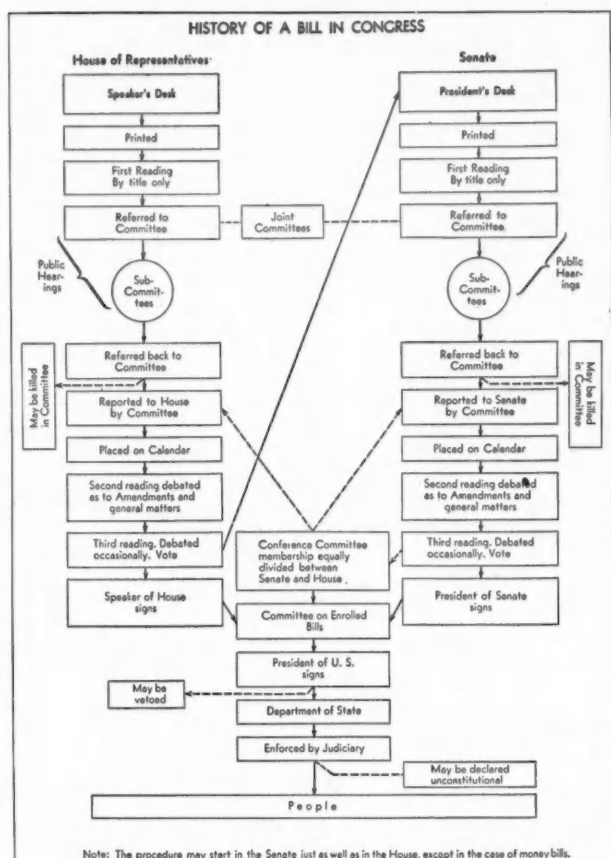
The book closes with this thoughtful paragraph:

This progress in every sphere started in the towns; it has spread to the inhabitants of the country in so far as they have adopted the innovations of urban life. It is from the country that the peasants have constantly come to fill the gaps left by the dying-out of families in the towns. But since, by decreasing the rural population and increasing that of the towns, the industrial revolution has upset the traditional proportion between town and country, the traditional balance of French life has been destroyed; the population of the country districts has ceased to form the majority of the nation. The future alone will show what ways the French nation will find for adapting itself to conditions of life contrary to all its traditions.

There are plenty of books which undertake to explain present problems and to forecast the future by tracing historical developments. A scholarly and forceful contribution of this kind has just been published, "The Coming Struggle for Power" by John Strachey (New York: Covici, Friede. \$3.00), a book which is of such importance that we shall review it shortly in this paper. There is this difference, however, between the Strachey book and that of Professor Seignobos. Strachey is setting out to prove something. He is undertaking to establish a basis for the Communist philosophy. Professor Seignobos is trying to prove nothing. He is showing what forces have been at work among the French people and what the effects have been in terms of individual and national life. His book, therefore, stands as an illustration, brilliant and powerful, of the service which history may render to those who are interested in the study of the present and the planning of the future.

Books on India

The Oxford University Press is continuing the fine work which it began two years ago when it published "Modern India," a collection of papers on India—its people and its problems—edited by Sir John Cumming. This book described the geographical and climatic background of the country, the races, the nationalities, the languages and religions. It explained the character of those native states in India which comprise about two-fifths of the country and which, though they are scattered among the provinces of British India, retain the nature of independent principalities; it described the machinery of govern-



PROGRESS OF A BILL THROUGH THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS

One of the charts in "Visual Outline of American Government" by S. S. Witman, a booklet in the Student Outline Series. (Longmans, Green & Co.)

ment, the army, the systems of law, justice, education, art, culture, agriculture, public finance, trade and industry; and it pictured the way of life among the people. Now there appears a book intended to be complementary to the earlier volume. It is "Political India, 1832-1932," edited by Sir John Cumming (London: Oxford University Press, \$1.25. The American address is Oxford University Press, 114 Fifth Avenue, New York).

This book, as the title indicates, describes political activities. There are chapters on the activities of a hundred years ago; and succeeding chapters bring the story of parties and movements to date. The record is carried to a period so recent as to include Gandhi's fast of last fall. There are chapters on minority communities, on the antagonism of races, on women in politics, on outstanding political leaders, on Gandhi, on the round table conferences, and on the political forces which were at work during the year 1932. These two books together, the one describing administration and institutions in India, and the other explaining the political movements, should place the reader in a position to understand the intricate and very important set of problems which have to do with India and its relations to the British Empire and the rest of the world.

A book which is less systematic but more entertaining is "Footloose in India" by Gordon Sinclair (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50). This is an excellent reporting job performed by a young newspaper man who went to India and traveled up and down the country with his eyes open looking for interesting facts about the people, their customs, their ways of life, their political and social problems. He writes vividly and gives a really thrilling account of his experiences. In one chapter there is an exciting story of an anti-British boycott leading to a riot, there are a number of incidents indicative of the characteristics of different Indian classes, and there is a breath-taking account of the author's first experience with a cobra. "Footloose in India" is not a careful analysis of Indian problems but it is a very entertaining and informative description of people, places and events seen by an observant and adventure-seeking traveler. If one should be able to read the Oxford University book and this one as well, he would gain a broad understanding of India—of its history, its politics, its economic problem and its people.



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ALSATIAN PEASANTS PLANTING SUGAR BEETS BY HAND

A study of the characteristics of the French, traced to historical origins "The Evolution of the French" by Charles Seignobos, has been published by Alfred A. Knopf.



AN ASPECT of the middle period in American history—the period beginning with the election of Jackson and culminating with the Civil War—upon which

**Divided
Economic
Interests**

proper emphasis is not always laid, is the rapidly changing economic conditions that were sweeping the country, dividing one section from another and finally leading inevitably to a violent clash of interests. These economic changes were in no small way responsible for the conflict itself which broke out in 1860. Almost thirty years before the episode at Fort Sumter, an ominous and dramatic warning of impending danger was detected by the more thoughtful statesmen and observers. South Carolina's attempt at secession in 1832 in protest against the "tariff of abominations" was a definite manifestation of a country divided into two economic systems, each diametrically opposed to the other. The years following tended only to intensify the breach which was finally to precipitate the nation into a calamitous war.

In earlier discussions, we have called attention to the growing cleavage between the agricultural and industrial sections of the population. The division became inevitable in the face of new inventions, native and foreign, which were seized upon by enterprising capitalists and applied to the manufacture of goods, the building of factories, the rise of new industries and the general development of an industrial society. An economic and social revolution of such proportions as that which was engulfing the northern section of the country was bound to affect our entire economic and political life. It meant a struggle for dominance in national politics, each section endeavoring to secure legislation most beneficial to its own interests. It constituted a menace to the economic system which had prevailed since the early part of the century.

From the time of Jackson's ascendancy to the presidency until the eve of the war, agriculture reigned supreme. The planters of the South, in close alignment with the farmers of the North and West, were in control of national policies. The predominant feature of these policies was the manner in which they harmonized with the economy of the plantation and the farm. Quite naturally, they were often inimical to the interests of the manufacturing and business interests of the North.

An understanding of the conflicting nature of the two economic systems becomes a vital part of any study of the deeper causes of the Civil War. The South had developed its social and economic life on the basis of slave labor. Its chances of ever becoming industrialized were at that time remote. Slave labor, while well fitted to the task of cultivating cotton fields, was hardly qualified to do the more specialized work of factories. To prosper, plantation owners had to receive as much for their product as possible and to pay as little as pos-

sible for the manufactured goods which they and their dependents required. As a result, Southern statesmen sought untiringly to enact legislation that would create such a condition.

The most vital point in their program was a low tariff. A high tariff could and did work only to their detriment. It could not help them obtain a higher price for their cotton which was sold to Northern manufacturers and to British mills. The threat of competition from

**Clash in
Tariff
Policy**

abroad was non-existent. Rather, a high tariff caused the Southerners untold damage. It defeated their purpose of obtaining cheap manufactured goods. The price of British goods, ordinarily cheaper and of better quality than similar products made in this country, was automatically increased by the imposition of high import duties. But that was not all. Northern industrialists, protected by a high tariff, would be able to demand higher prices for their goods. Hence, the South stood to lose by such a policy, from whatever angle it is considered.

The North was equally insistent upon a high protective tariff. It was in line with the general policy of stimulating business, shipping and industry which had been pushed by Northern statesmen since the early days of the republic. Industrial expansion, in their opinion, would be impossible so long as budding plants were subjected to the competition of cheap foreign goods. Nor were the capitalists alone in their demands. They were supported by the laboring masses which felt that their own interest in high wages and constant employment depended upon a flourishing business for their employers.

The tariff, although the major plank in the economic platforms of the two sections, was not the only point of difference between the industrial North and the agrarian South. The question of banking

and currency policy—the object of such bitter controversy in the days of Hamilton and Jefferson—continued to divide the two sections of the population. Generally speaking, the North was primarily interested in sound currency and a stable, centralized banking system. Belonging to the so-called creditor class, the Northerners naturally frowned upon all legislative policies likely to decrease the value of their debts, such as inflation of the currency. There was no definite unity in the North on the subject of opening the public domain of the West to settlement. Factory owners, for the most part, opposed such action, fearing it would lead to a migration of laborers and tend to increase wages. But the industrial workers favored such a step and in this were supported by the business elements which looked to the West for greater expansion. Particularly strong was the support of the business and financial interests which wanted to build a railroad across the continent.

In these matters, the South was unalterably opposed to the North. Having no capitalistic class, it was not primarily interested in a banking policy that would guarantee the security of debts. Nor was it concerned with the opening of the West. Its cotton and other staples

sought outlets through ocean ports, already provided with transportation facilities. The parceling out of Western lands for homesteads was not considered advantageous to its interests. Southern statesmen opposed such action because, they felt, the lands would be taken over by independent farmers not capable of developing a system of plantation life or economy and thus not willing to back up their policies in Congress.

Because of these conflicting interests, the fight for control of the West became an outstanding feature of the period. It was in this connection that the question

**Other
Conflicting
Interests**

of slavery became a dominating issue. In order to retain the political supremacy which it had enjoyed since the days of Jackson, the South was determined that slavery should be permitted in the new territories. These territories would then develop an economic life similar to their own and, when they became states and sent representatives to Congress, would support the legislative program sponsored by the South. The North, on the contrary, fought for the prohibition of slavery in the new regions in order that it might gain the ascendancy in the national legislative bodies. It wanted the West to develop industrially so that its senators and congressmen would favor the protective tariff and all other policies in which the North had a vital interest.

Throughout the entire period, the economic implications of slavery just cited were of much greater importance than the

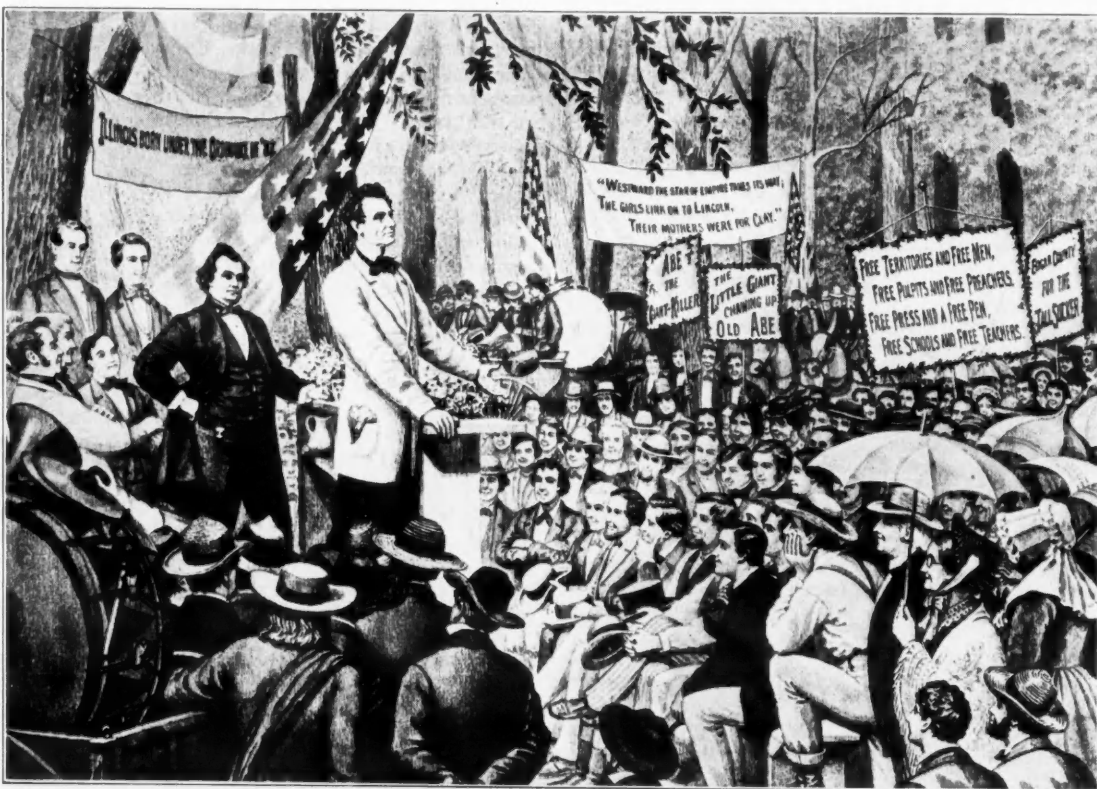
morals of the issue. True, Northern moralists, such as Garrison's Abolitionists, had stirred up intense feeling throughout the North against the evils of slavery

and had rounded up many supporters to their views. Politically, however, they were impotent, for parties pledged to the abolition of slavery on the grounds of its moral injustices made no headway. But when the Supreme Court decided that slavery in the territories was not to be prohibited, a vital issue was raised. This meant a gain for the South in its fight for continued control of national policies. It was a definite blow to the North's desire for control. Horace Greeley, colorful editor of the New York Tribune, is reported to have said at the time that the Kansas-Nebraska bill would "make more Abolitionists in three months than Garrison and the Abolitionist orators would make in fifty years."

A striking example of the preponderance of the economic issues of the period is found in the activities of Stephen A. Douglas. Douglas was primarily inter-

ested in the economic development of Chicago. To bring this about, he lined up with the forces favoring westward expansion and railway development. He bent his energies on opening up the way for the construction of railways to the west and south in order to bring trade to Chicago. But in order to win the support of Southern politicians, he was willing to compromise on the question of slavery, agreeing to yield on the question of slavery in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska in exchange for their votes for his railway and land policies.

As often happens in the history of nations, the really vital economic aspects of slavery extension or abolition were hidden behind a veil of idealism and moral rectitude. The Southerners rallied public sentiment to the banner of "states rights." Northern mobs rose up in moral indignation against "race oppression."



ONE OF THE FAMOUS LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

These debates clarified the economic and constitutional issues which were soon to divide the nation into warring factions.

—Culver Service

Survey of Family Life in America Made by President's Social Trends Committee

At the present rate, at least one in every six marriages in the United States this year will end in the divorce court. Yet married people form a steadily increasing proportion of the American population, the size of the American family has dropped less than 3 per cent, and in spite of depression and demands for farm relief, American farmers are having bigger families than 30 years ago.

These are some of the unexpected points brought out by Prof. W. F. Ogburn's study of the Family and Its Functions in the Hoover research committee's recent study on social trends in the United States. Professor Ogburn concludes that although the family as an institution has gone through revolutionary changes, it nevertheless holds a secure place in our social structure.

In early American life, he points out, the family was almost an independent self-supporting unit, raising its own food, making its own clothes, often even producing its own farm machinery and spinning and weaving its own cloth. The interests of the various members of the family were centered in the home, so that the ties that bound them together were close and strong. With the development of mechanical industries, greater efficiency was possible in manufacturing plants on a larger scale than the one-family unit, so various members of the family began going out to work. As our government developed too, education in schools became far superior to the simple "reading, writing and 'rithmetic" once taught at home, so that even little children began spending a large part of their daily lives outside the family circle. Gradually, every member of the family developed more and more outside interests. This led inevitably to the weakening of family and home ties, and to an increase in divorce, separation and broken homes.

Divorces have increased in the last 30 years from 20 to 36 in every 10,000 of the American population. Yet the family and home life are not at all tending to disappear, for statistics show that married people totalled 60 per cent of the whole population in 1930, and only 55 per cent in 1900. This apparent contradiction is explained by the fact that rising divorce rates are counterbalanced by lowered death rates. City life, however, seems to be hard on marriage for there are twice as many separations and divorces in cities, towns, and even villages than in country districts. Families of city people in professional work, moreover, have dropped in size by 10 per cent, and those of clerical workers by 5 per cent. Country families, on the other hand, are getting bigger all the time. The 1930 census showed that families of tenant farmers have increased in size by 5 per cent since 1900, and those of farm laborers, by 13 per cent, the biggest gain of any class of people in the country.

The general decrease in the size of the family, only 2.7 per cent, is not yet large enough to make it possible to judge fairly of the psychological effect of small or large families on children. Children in small families, however, do tend more to extremes, with more successes and more failures, than those in large families, and only children are the most apt to be "spoiled" or "difficult." Contrary to current belief, the proportion of one-child families has remained absolutely unchanged in the United States during the past 30 years, and they still constitute about one quarter of all American families.

On the whole, industrial changes have been more rapid than those in the family, and the persistence of old theories, of the father as a patriarchal employer or the mother as a domestic with no interests

outside her home, have caused friction and irritation. Psychologists, however, are more and more emphasizing the importance of home and family influences in the development of children's personalities so that they will be able to adjust themselves happily to life after they grow up. Our early years are now regarded as even more important than heredity in shaping our character and disposition for life, and the world is beginning to realize that social changes can be directed through our methods of rearing children.

The present trend in the United States is to send younger children to school.

In 1930, 20 per cent of all American children five years old were already in school, as compared to only 17 per cent in 1900. This means that the influence of family life is most strongly felt in the pre-kindergarten years, before the child has come under any outside influences. That is why sociologists now feel that one of the most valuable movements in the country today is the movement for adult education and the widespread study of child psychology. It is realized now more than ever before that it is the parents of today who, through the kind of homes they make, are unconsciously molding the American of the future.



THE FAMILY

(Illustration from "Trail Makers of the Middle Border," by Hamlin Garland.)

FROM CITY TO FARM

"Back to the Farm!" has become the slogan of a large number of unemployed. During the last two years, as many as 648,000 people, discouraged because they could find nothing to do in the cities, have sought refuge in the country. Many of them have done so through the help of friends or by using the last of their savings. It is said that this development of the depression causes quite a problem for many of these unemployed have little or no knowledge of farming. It is not easy for them to make a living and the government may have to come to their aid.

Cosgrave, Strong Leader in Politics of Ireland

Ireland came to another crossing of the ways in her history at the national election of January 24, when William Thomas Cosgrave, former president, launched a new conservative party, uniting all the anti-Republican forces of the country against Eamon de Valera, firebrand agitator and present president.



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WILLIAM T. COSGRAVE

When Ireland won her fight for separation from England and Dominion status, in 1922, Cosgrave was one of the first Provisional Government, that "little band of eight young men standing in the City Hall amidst the ruins of one administration and with the foundations of another yet unlaunched." For ten years the first President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, he directed the organization of a new government on the ashes of revolution and civil war, and steered the new ship of state safely to a position of growing financial and economic stability, the first member of the British Commonwealth of Nations to join the League of Nations as an independent unit. When defeated in March, 1932, by the Fianna Fail or Republican party, under de Valera, Cosgrave's government was the oldest parliamentary government in Europe.

During the presidency of de Valera, who wants Ireland to be an independent republic, Cosgrave has led the Cumann na Gaedheal, the opposition party in parliament, and directed the fight against de Valera when he insisted on giving up the oath of allegiance to England and refused to pay the annuities due to buy back Irish

farm land from English landlords. Cosgrave argued that de Valera's policy would force England to put on tariffs against Irish products, and ruin Irish farmers. De Valera, feeling his power weakening, suddenly put the issue up to the Irish people by dissolving the Dail Eireann, the Irish parliament, on January 3 and announcing a general election for January 24. By this maneuver he hoped to catch Cosgrave napping before his new Conservative party was well organized.

Born in Dublin in 1880, and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, Cosgrave has devoted his life to Irish self-government, holding various city offices in Dublin from 1909 up to the creation of the Free State in 1922. His name has become a symbol of security for those who want the Emerald Isle to remain part of the British Empire.

PAUL HYMANS

The Committee of Nineteen, of the Assembly of the League of Nations, meeting now in Geneva to pass judgment, in the name of most of the nations of the world, on the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, is headed by a distinguished Belgian, Paul Hymans.

Small and wiry, with a head of long gray hair reminiscent of Einstein and Padewski, he is one of the most brilliant scholars and statesmen of Europe and, as foreign minister of Belgium and president of the Assembly of the League, holds in his hands many of the delicate threads of European and world economic and political relations. At the age of sixty-seven, he has already held high positions in the academic, parliamentary and diplomatic worlds.



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PAUL HYMANS

Congresswoman Edith Rogers of Massachusetts Proposes Money Management Plan for Schools

Learning how to get the most out of a dollar is the basis of real citizenship, in the opinion of Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts, who has introduced a resolution in Congress to authorize the federal government to distribute to the schools of the whole country information about the Florence Barnard money management plan, in use in the schools of Brookline, Mass.

The root of most of our troubles today, Mrs. Rogers feels, is the fact that as a nation we have forgotten how to spend carefully, and have let the glittering promises of installment buying and get-rich-quick schemes run away with our good judgment. Under the system introduced by one of Mrs. Rogers' constituents, Miss Florence Barnard, a Brookline teacher, every boy and girl budgets his or her weekly spending money—so much for necessities, pens, pencils, books, perhaps clothing; so much for amusement, movies, candies, etc.; so much for gifts to some poorer boy or girl in need of help; and so much to put away in the bank for the future.

Mrs. Rogers reports that the plan has been a tremendous success. In some cases, small school banks are run by the students themselves, and in many cases, both boys and girls have discovered unexpected ways of increasing their incomes, or of economizing and yet having in the end the things

they really want most. Under the plan the young people of Massachusetts, in Brookline and several other towns, are learning and applying the principles of sane and normal spending. They are learning where their money goes and a balanced distribution of their money between necessities, luxuries, charity and savings, and it is Mrs. Rogers' belief that this will inevitably give them later a clear-sighted understanding of municipal, state and federal use of the money collected in taxes, which is the foundation of good citizenship.

Mrs. Rogers is the widow of Congressman John Jacob Rogers, who wrote the famous Rogers act of 1922, reorganizing the American diplomatic service on a competitive basis like the civil service and admitting women to its ranks, on an equality with men. On her husband's death in 1925, Mrs. Rogers was elected to finish his term, and has been reelected three times since then, being one of the two Republican congresswomen who successfully survived the Democratic landslide last November.



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EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

Stimson Non-recognition Doctrine, Endorsed by Roosevelt, Is Debated

(Concluded from page 1)

denying the legal existence of Manchukuo.

At Geneva, events of a different character have been taking place. The Committee of Nineteen, which was appointed by the special session of the League Assembly last March, has been holding a number of meetings in an effort to work out a program acceptable to China and Japan. It has taken on the role of conciliator. Its chief activities have been centered upon chapter nine of the Lytton Report—the findings of the special League commission which spent a good part of last year in the Far East investigating the conflict. Chapter nine deals with the commission's recommendations for a settlement. Specifically, it urges that Manchuria be set up as an autonomous government under the sovereignty of China. Should Japan accept such a plan, she would be obliged to withdraw her troops from Manchuria. She would also have to accept the Stimson policy of non-recognition. Finally, Japan would have to allow the League to work out details of the administration of Manchuria rather than to settle the whole matter directly with China.

As a matter of fact, in any discussion of the Far East dispute either in this country or at Geneva, the pivotal point is the Stimson Doctrine. While it was promulgated first as an American policy, it has subsequently been accepted by the League of Nations. For when the Assembly met in March, it adopted a resolution which placed a moral obligation upon all members not to recognize the present status of Manchuria. The findings of the Lytton Report place upon members of the League a similar obligation since it declared that Manchukuo has been brought into being by the force of Japanese arms. Actually no nation, except Japan, has extended recognition to the government of Manchukuo.

Reversal of Position

But the Stimson Doctrine, as a basis of American foreign policy, is much broader in scope than its application to the present situation in the Far East. It commits this government definitely to a certain course of action in future international disputes involving territorial changes. It has already been applied to the struggle between Paraguay and Bolivia for control of the Chaco as this government has informed those nations that we will not recognize any changes in boundaries resulting from armed conflict. Unless the doctrine is abandoned, it will mean that whenever two nations take up arms against each other in the future and change national boundaries and governmental administration as a result, the United States will regard such changes as illegal and will refuse to recognize them.

The implications of this policy are tremendous. It definitely binds the American government to take a part in conflicts arising anywhere in the world. By insisting upon the non-recognition policy, we have committed ourselves in advance to take an active interest in all future strug-

gles to change boundaries by force of arms. This is, of course, not a policy of isolation, a policy of detaching ourselves completely from what happens in other parts of the world. We cannot remain aloof from foreigners so long as we insist upon preventing changes through treaty violation and armed force.

The Stimson Doctrine thus becomes a complete reversal of the policy pursued by every Republican administration since the close of the World War. When the question of our joining the League of Nations was debated in the Senate, the primary objection was that such participation would involve us too closely in world affairs. We would naturally become "entangled" in European politics, it was said. Particularly vehement was the opposition to Article X of the Covenant of the League which

pledged members to protect the national boundaries then in existence. But according to this provision, we would have pledged ourselves to prevent changes only in cooperation with the other nations of the world—members of the League. By the Stimson Doctrine, however, we have taken on a similar obligation, the chief difference being that it does not commit us to act jointly with other nations, but alone. Naturally, the American government hopes that the other nations will support this stand. As a matter of fact, their delegates at Geneva have done so. But when the policy was enunciated, America was acting alone and it was not until two months later that the League backed her up.

Far-Reaching Policy

Strangely enough, those who opposed America's participation in the League in 1920 and 1921 have either supported the Stimson Doctrine or have been silent about it. Opposition, for the most part, has come from those advocates of the League who feel that the policy will not obtain the desired results. And yet, the policy to which the Hoover administration has committed itself, and to which the Roosevelt administration is now pledged, does draw us into closer relations with the rest of the world. It is also a step nearer—undoubtedly the greatest step we have ever taken—toward Geneva. For, in all future international conflicts the United States will be obliged to seek the support of the League in making effective its policy of non-recognition.

Viewed in this light, the Stimson Doctrine is one of the most far-reaching developments in our foreign policy since the close of the war. It is a bold step and one which required great courage on the part of those who adopted it. The theory involved is that when two nations enter into

disputes it is no longer a matter of concern to them alone but to the entire world. By signing the Kellogg-Briand Pact, practically every nation has pledged itself not to resort to war. When two nations violate this pledge, world opinion must be aroused. They must be made to feel that the rest of the world disapproves what they are doing. Now, according to the Doctrine, the best way of accomplishing this is by saying in effect that "we will not tolerate what you are doing. If you change boundaries, if you shift governments, if you arrive at other agreements in violation of your treaty obligations, we will refuse to recognize all such arrangements."

To those who support the Stimson Doctrine, non-recognition constitutes a veritable bulwark against aggressive nations. It is the only way of mustering world opinion against them. There are many, however, who do not favor the policy. They regard it as a futile gesture, a vain use of words, ineffective in bringing about the desired results, capable of fomenting international hatreds, and finally, absurd because it disregards the realities of the situation.

Opposition

The principal objection to the policy is that it will be ineffective because we refuse to do anything to force the belligerent nations to alter their positions. We merely pass moral judgment upon their acts and refuse to recognize the changes agreed upon. The objectors say that moral judgment in itself is ineffective. It has never worked in the past. The United States has refused to recognize the Soviet government of Russia, yet conditions have been altered not in the least. The European powers in 1912 informed the Balkan nations, then on the verge of war, that they would not recognize territorial changes, yet wide changes were wrought by the Treaty of Bucharest signed two years later. To this group of opponents, the United States should adopt positive policies. It should coerce the disputants by declaring an economic boycott against them or by refusing to ship arms and munitions to them. Without such coercion, they declare, the Stimson Doctrine is a lofty ideal and a beautiful theory, but in practice it simply will not work.

Obviously, if the non-recognition principle is going to work out in practice, the present government of Manchukuo will have to be replaced by one not completely independent of China, since we insist that Chinese territorial integrity be maintained. But if Japan refuses to yield how will the change be brought about? In this connection, a number of interesting questions have been asked in a recent article in *The New Republic*:

There is only one alternative to the surrender of either party (the United States and Japan), and that is war. Somebody must forcibly eject Japan from Manchuria if Japan does not elect to go and the Stimson Doctrine is to be vindicated. No European nation is likely to fight Japan for the sake of the Kel-

logg-Briand Pact—least of all Russia, which has a larger stake in Manchuria than all the others combined. Who is to do the ejecting? China? Not under present conditions . . . There remains only the United States.

Other objectors have declared that the United States has embarked upon the most dangerous course by adopting the Stimson Doctrine. It makes isolation in the future virtually impossible, as we have already suggested. Yet it does not have the merit of making our interference in the disputes of other nations contingent upon joint international action through the League of Nations. To this group, the United States should either adopt a policy of complete non-interference, declaring that what goes on elsewhere in the world does not concern us save when our national interests are involved, or a policy of complete cooperation whereby we will support the action taken by the other nations.

Bold Step

It is, of course, too early to weigh the ultimate effectiveness of the Stimson Doctrine. The Manchurian affair has not yet been liquidated and until it is, all attempts at appraisal are futile. Admittedly, the move of Messrs. Stimson and Hoover last January was taken in the face of an emergency. It required a great deal of courage. Whether it was a wise step in so far as the Manchurian dispute is concerned remains to be seen. Mr. Walter Lippmann shares the views of those who believe it was the most intelligent course to be taken under existing circumstances. Writing in the *New York Herald-Tribune*, he says:

Essentially, the Stimson Doctrine was the result of a choice between two courses of action: One was to recognize Japan's action and thus help her to dismember China; the other was not to recognize, and thus to align the world's influence against the dismemberment of China. There was and there is no other alternative. The world could not intervene by force. . . . It was too divided and too distracted. The world could not be neutral and uninterested because if it recognized Japan's action it was in fact supporting Japan; if it did not recognize Japan, it was doing what the Stimson Doctrine declares that it should do.

IRELAND

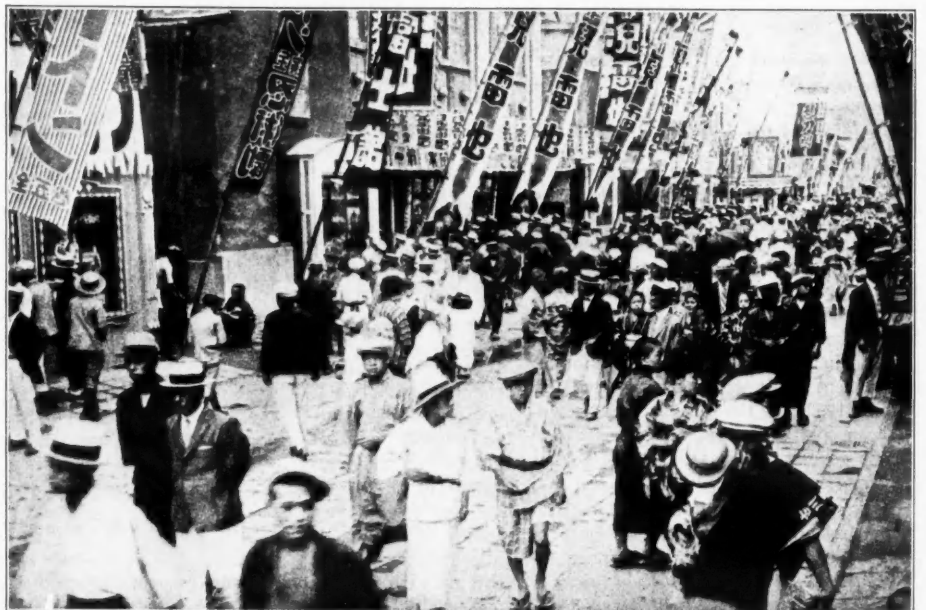
The whirlwind three-week campaign before the Irish election of January 24 has been marked by a real reign of terror, with pitched battles between members of the two opposing parties of President Eamon de Valera and former President William T. Cosgrave.

The Irish Republican Army of the de Valera government and the White Army or unofficial militia of Cosgrave have not come to open conflict, but hundreds of political meetings have been broken up by flying brick bats and serious fighting. President de Valera has given Cosgrave police protection at his public appearances, but Cosgrave has protested against alleged wholesale intimidation of the voters by de Valera supporters.



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THREATS OF WAR AND NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY DO NOT KEEP THE JAPANESE FROM FLOCKING TO THEIR AMUSEMENT PARK IN TOKYO